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# ***Africa Report***

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# Africa Report

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## COVER PHOTO:

Nigerian Prime Minister Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa (right), in the United States during late July on a State visit, in front of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC. From left to right are members of his party, Mallam Issa Koto, Secretary to the Cabinet; L.O.V. Anionwu, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and T.O.S. Benson, Minister of Information. US Ambassador to Nigeria Joseph Palmer II is behind the Prime Minister.

—photo by Maurice Sorrell

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# Portuguese Guinea to Erupt?

By RICHARD MATHEWS

Dakar, Senegal

Portugal's 500-year old African empire—already severely shaken by Angolan nationalist rebels in the south-western region of the continent—faces a new anti-colonialist military uprising in the West African province of Portuguese Guinea. Ibrahim Diallo, secretary general of the best-organized nationalist party in the Portuguese territory, declared in a recent interview that "armed action will definitely begin before the end of this year."

A congress of the revolutionary political groups of Guinea and the near-by Cape Verde Islands was held in Dakar from July 12-14 to establish a common front on the pattern of the inter-party group which leads the rebel offensive in Angola.

## Jungle-Cloaked Enclave

Portuguese Guinea, backward by African or any other standards, is a jungle-cloaked enclave on the horn of West Africa. On its inland boundaries it is completely surrounded by the independent nations of Senegal and the Republic of Guinea. Both of these neighbors have already pledged their support for anti-Portuguese activities. Observers here feel that the rugged border area, with its lack of communications facilities, will provide a base for rebel operations comparable to those available to the Algerian FLN on the Moroccan and Tunisian frontiers.

The Portuguese authorities are obviously conscious of the build-up of nationalist strength in Guinea during the last few months. The governor, Commander Antonio Peixoto Correia, has recently been invested with emergency powers and has personally taken in hand the command of Lisbon's military forces in the territory. During June, at least three freighters are known to have debarked additional troops, artillery, and light tanks. A 10 o'clock curfew has been clamped down on Bissau, the capital, and it is estimated that over 15,000 refugees have fled the country into Senegal and the Republic of Guinea.

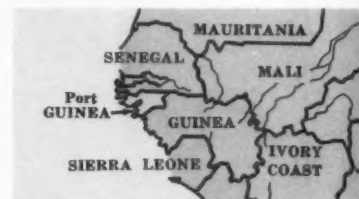
Of the three groups which participated in the Dakar conference, the Movement for the Liberation of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (which embraces the Popular Union of Guinea and the Democratic Union of Cape Verde) appears to have the widest popular support. Headed by Diallo, the son of an important tribal chief who makes Dakar his principal headquarters, the MLGCVI advocates "immediate and unconditional independence."

Other participants in the newly-formed united front include the Conakry-based African Party of In-

dependence, led by Amilcar Cabril, a Cape Verde agricultural engineer, and another Liberation Movement for Guinea and Cape Verde centered in Conakry.

Cabril's group is on close terms with the Government of Guinea and with President Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana. His Party of Independence appears to enjoy less popular support than its rival, but it is believed to have collected considerable arms caches which would be indispensable for the front's military actions planned for the fall of 1961.

The leaders of the Guinea nationalist groups, like those in Angola, maintain that they are not basically anti-Portuguese, but merely opposed to Lisbon's colonial policies as conducted by Salazar. Indeed, they have established relations with Captain Henrique Galvao, the Portuguese revolutionary who seized the *Santa Maria*. In an open letter recently published in the Tunisian weekly *Afrique-Action*, Galvao committed himself to self-rule for Portuguese overseas territories if his "Iberian Revolutionary Directorate" gains power in Lisbon.



Guinean nationalists located in Dakar assert that, although they do not like the path of violence, it is the only way left for them to alter the colonial regime by which they are ruled and which they find extremely oppressive. In June 1960, they addressed a manifesto to the Portuguese Government requesting a policy of gradual political evolution for Guinea, but this request led to repression and arrest of nationalist leaders in the colony.

One reason Portugal has been able to hold on to its domains in Africa and Asia while such stronger powers as France and Britain have granted independence to most of their possessions is that the level of educational and economic development—and hence that of political consciousness—has been extremely low. In Portuguese Guinea, for example, there is only one secondary school to serve a population of over half a million people spread over 14,000 square miles. Well over 90 percent of the population is illiterate.

Guinea's backward economy is dominated by peanut and palm cultivation practiced with traditional tools

(Continued on page 7)

# A Neutral Somalia

Two recent developments in the Horn of Africa have raised questions about the future direction of the nascent state of Somalia. The first was a speech given by Prime Minister Abdirashid Ali Shermarke in Moscow on May 27: as reported by Tass, the head of the Somalia Government paid extravagant homage to the "accomplishments" of the Soviet Union, and expressed the view that the most compatible political system for African states was socialism. The second event was the announcement, in that same week, that the Soviet Union had granted Somalia a \$52,000,000 loan—one of the largest per capita loans ever given a state by the USSR—as well as a range of technical assistance. (See *Africa Report*, July 1961, page 7).

Since December, a newly-established Soviet Embassy has been busy building amicable Soviet-Somalia relations. In April, a Soviet delegation—an entourage higher in stature than anything the West had ever sent to Somalia—travelled throughout the Somali Republic. The Soviet good will mission expressed Prime Minister Khrushchev's desire to cooperate with Somalia "in a spirit of reciprocity and friendship." The Somali Government was invited to send a delegation to the Soviet Union and in May a jet plane was placed at the disposal of Prime Minister Shermarke. When the Somali group arrived in Moscow, it was given a regal reception.

## West Defaults

Somalia's sudden shift from a "neutrality inclined toward the West" to "positive neutrality" has been partly conditioned by Western default to Soviet initiative. Until December 1960, there was no official Soviet representative in the territory, no local Communist Party, nor anything like a Communist front. The incipient trade unions (always weak) were linked with the pro-West International Confederation of Trade Unions. The one important political leader who advocated a "socialist solution" and an anti-Western policy was expelled from the governing Somali Youth League in 1958. In August 1960, Prime Minister Shermarke took special pains in a major policy speech before the National Assembly, to thank the United States for the sympathy and assistance it had given the Somalis (about \$8,000,000 since 1952).

But things began to happen soon after independence to recast Somali foreign policy. Between August 1960 and April 1961, there were a series of clashes between Somalis and Ethi-

opians in the Somali-inhabited portion of Ethiopia; Ethiopian aircraft strafed and bombed Somalis, with several hundred casualties. Concurrently, the Pan-Somali movement picked up momentum on official levels. In Nairobi, Somali political leaders were putting pressure on the Kenya Government to allow the Somali-inhabited portion of the Northern Province to join with Somalia. In France, a small Somali delegation sought to persuade President De Gaulle "to give up" Djibouti. Political unity of all Somalis, a cardinal objective of Somali nationalism since 1943, had by 1961 become imperative and urgent.

## Anti-American Demonstrations

Anti-American demonstrations in Mogadiscio followed the Somali-Ethiopian clashes. A connection was made between American military assistance to Ethiopia, which is rather substantial, and the loss of Somali lives which resulted from the Ethiopian military action. In addition, the failure of the Shermarke government to secure financial aid from Washington to meet the national deficit—which stood at \$9,000,000 in January—was viewed by some Somali leaders as having the effect of strengthening Ethiopia vis-à-vis Somalia. (American policy was caught in the twilight zone of risk and incertitude, for a heavy American assistance program in Somalia would be viewed in Addis Ababa as an encouragement of the Pan-Somali movement.)

Internal pressures also impelled the Somalis to look upon the Soviet overtures of friendship and assistance with new interest. Besides the shadow cast by the deficit, there were major problems still to be ironed out in cementing the union with ex-British Somaliland and the government was under increasing attack from its more radical opposition for its alleged failure to rid the country of "neo-colonialist" ties with Britain and Italy. The fate of both the government and the Constitution would be at stake in an approaching June 20 referendum. By accepting Soviet aid, Shermarke deprived the opposition of its most potent weapon and the June referendum confirmed Aden Abdullah as president—but the vote was painfully close.

Although events in the Horn of Africa have always been shaped by big power competition, it is unwarranted to view the recent developments in Somalia simply in cold war terms. Whether Shermarke, who was the personal choice of Abdullah to head the first post-independence government, will continue on as Prime Minister is not yet clear. But any



change at the helm of government will result from the interplay of ethnic groups. Clearly the acceptance of Soviet aid does not signify a Somali ideological identification with Communism, for Islam remains the cornerstone of the nationalist movement and the Somalis are jealously protective of their newly-won independence. Because they think in African rather than Western terms, they do not view Soviet aid as a compromise of independence, but rather as a means of enhancing their ability to keep all foreign intrusions—whether from West, East, or Ethiopia—in balance.

Already Prime Minister Shermarke has gone out of his way to swing the pendulum back toward center by pointing out that the Tass report of his Moscow speech quoted some of his remarks out of context. He has openly affirmed to the National Assembly that his government's new policy of "positive neutrality" implies no political commitment to the USSR.

Because the political stability of the Horn is so precariously brittle, the Somali ability to steer a clear neutral course is far from certain. It will require maximum alertness and prudence from the Somalis as well as tactful diplomacy and sensitive understanding of African political dynamics by the West. This new position of Somalia also imposes on Ethiopia the need to re-examine both its internal and external relationships and should awaken other independent African states to a realization that they can not avoid much longer dealing with the inter-African controversy on the Horn. For Somalia's new neutralist stance puts a whole new light on the Pan-Somali movement and on the long-festering border dispute with Ethiopia.

—Al Castagno



## Africa Plays Small Role In US Aid And Investment

US Government aid to Africa increased 45 percent from 1959 to 1960, according to figures released in July by the Office of Business Economics of the US Department of Commerce. Africa received only 4.3 percent of the 1960 total net overseas aid in credits and grants given by the United States Government under the mutual security, food for peace, Export-Import Bank, and other military and economic assistance programs. This was a one percent increase, however, over the 3.3 percent share in 1959. Only six percent of the \$188,000,000 in 1960 aid to Africa was in the form of military grants, compared to 22 percent of the aid to the Near East and South Asia, 50 percent of the aid to the Far East and Pacific, and 27 percent to the aid to Latin America.

Meanwhile, incomplete data on US private foreign investment, presented by Richard E. Mooney in a *New York Times* article on June 25, indicated that American private investment in Africa at the end of 1959 was about three percent of the total US overseas private investment. Of the estimated \$843,000,000 private investment in Africa, 40 percent was in the petroleum industry and 14 percent in mining.

The value of the investment in non-petroleum industries was small, but still almost as large in value as the total US non-petroleum investment in the Middle East and Asia. If both petroleum and mining are excluded, US private investment in Africa was larger in value than that in the Middle East and Asia, and over 40 percent as large as such investment in Europe. US overseas investment outside petroleum and mining—mostly in trade, manufacturing, utilities, and agriculture—is concentrated in Canada and Latin America.

## IMF Extends Drawing Rights To Republic of South Africa

On July 5, the International Monetary Fund announced that it would extend to South Africa drawing rights amounting to \$75,000,000 for the next 12 months to bolster the republic's weakened foreign exchange position (See *Africa Report*, July 1961, p. 7). The IMF move will bring South Africa's gold and foreign reserves above the £100,000,000 level considered the minimum for safety.

Reserves had increased slightly in the preceding two weeks, probably as the result of recent restrictions on stock exchange transactions; the more recent import restrictions would not have had time to take effect.

## Sierra Leone To Modernize Internal Communications

Sierra Leone has announced a £2,100,000 program to modernize its telecommunications system. A fully automatic micro-wave telephone system sufficient to meet needs for the next eight years and capable of expansion to meet the expected needs for the next 20 years will be constructed to link Freetown with the provinces.

The 1,000 line automatic exchange now at Freetown will be moved to Bo, and Freetown will have a new automatic 5,000 line exchange. Automatic exchanges with metering equipment will be installed at Kenema, Makeni, and Magburaka. The present telegraph system to Kabala, Magburaka, Bo, and Sefadu will be replaced by an automatic telex-exchange. Micro-wave towers and the necessary generating equipment are to be built at eight sites in the provinces.

Equipment for the project is being made by Phillips, a Dutch electrical equipment manufacturer, at a cost of £1,700,000 payable over eight years. As part of the agreement with Phillips, 15 Sierra Leonean technicians of the Posts and Telecommunications Department will be trained in Holland. The buildings, stations, and other construction required will be built by the Ministry of Works, in consultation with Phillips, at an estimated cost of £400,000.

### SUMMER PUBLISHING SCHEDULE

*Africa Report* appears 11 times a year. Our next issue will be a combined September-October number, appearing October 1.

## Ghana Adds New Controls On Capital Movements

Legislation introduced into the Ghana National Assembly on July 5 calls for new controls on capital movements, including movements to sterling area countries, heretofore excluded from exchange control.

Under the new legislation, private companies and individuals will be obliged to obtain permission to repatriate their capital to the United Kingdom or other sterling area countries. In addition, sterling assets held overseas in excess of working balances—by quasi-governmental organizations, private banks, insurance companies, and educational institutions—will be sold to the Ghana central government or the central bank, in return for assets in Ghana pounds. This will concentrate the foreign assets in the

hands of the central government and the Bank of Ghana.

In the past, most Ghana company, institutional, or government reserves were held in London in sterling (the so-called sterling balances). These reserves were usually initially in the form of deposits with banks or other institutions, but the amount in excess of that needed for working balances was invested in securities of governments, public bodies, or municipalities of the UK, Commonwealth, or colonies. This meant, in effect, that Ghana was investing in these countries; in the years before independence, such outflow of investment sometimes exceeded the inflow of foreign investment, thus making the Gold Coast a net foreign investor.

President Nkrumah emphasized that the new exchange control regulations will not alter Ghana's commitments to foreign investors, because approval for such transfers will be given as a matter of course.

## \$372,000,000 Development Plan Approved For Senegal

Senegal's National Assembly has approved a four year \$372,000,000 development plan aimed at raising the standard of living by 3.5 percent a year and increasing production by 48 percent by 1964.

The plan stresses investment in transport and communications, industry, and commerce; however, funds are also earmarked for education, housing, agriculture, and municipal improvements. Specific industrial objectives include a calcium phosphate refinery to be built by public and private funds, expansion and diversification of the textile industry, and establishment of small and medium size industries in rural areas.

Fifty-four percent of the total cost of the plan is expected to be financed from public sources (more than half of this from overseas), and the rest is to be financed from private sources.

## Portuguese African Stock Unpopular On Lisbon Exchange

The prices of stock in companies operating in Portuguese Africa have fallen as much as 60 percent on the Lisbon Stock Exchange, primarily as the result of the loss of confidence resulting from the civil war in Angola.

According to the Lisbon correspondent of the *Financial Times*, the prices of shares in companies operating in Angola and Mozambique have fallen despite the fact that in most cases they have continued growth in both production and earnings. Holders of large blocks of shares in companies operating in Angola and Mozambique have sometimes been unable to sell them.

—Norman W. Mosher

# African Labor at the Crossroads

By MAIDA SPRINGER\*

Two recent conferences have focused world attention on Africa's ambivalent role in international labor affairs. One was the month-long annual meeting of the International Labor Organization held in June at Geneva, where 25 percent of the country representatives gathered together to devise joint means of furthering the welfare of labor around the world were from Africa. The other was the founding conference of the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) held in Casablanca at the end of May, aimed at separating African trade unions from world movements. (See *Africa Report*, May 1961, page 10, and this month's News Review)

The effects of the Casablanca conference are inconclusive because of the conflicting views on the floor, the departure of many of the key delegates before the final vote was taken, and the unexpired ten months of grace allowed to African unions to sever their ties with other international trade union movements—which in the African context means specifically the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. This is not a marginal matter, for the ICFTU affiliates comprise the major trade union federations in East Africa, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Southern Cameroons, Gambia, Malagasy, Mauritius, Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria.

## Politics Dominate

The decision to disaffiliate dominated the conference to the exclusion of serious consideration of the pressing problems to which an all-African labor meeting might have been expected to address itself—the immediate aims of African workingmen, improvement of skills, labor-management relations, and the problems of transition from a tribal to a national community. That the concentration at Casablanca on the shedding of external ties had more to do with intra-African politics than with the economic and social goals of labor unions is indicated by the following pronouncement:

"AATUF is an independent organization, rejecting all foreign interference in African trade union affairs. It consists of independent



Gus Tyler, Director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Institute, at headquarters in New York with AFL-CIO-ILGWU scholarship recipients. —ILGWU

national trade union organizations which may not be affiliated to the international trade union organizations."

This resolution, so at variance with the increasingly productive participation of African governments in such agencies as the United Nations, the Commonwealth, International Court of Justice, World Health Organization, the International Monetary Fund, and the United Nations Economic and Social Council, is based on the political assumption that the ICFTU is somehow an instrument of the cold war and thus compromising to African neutralism.

This, it seems to me, is a misreading of the world labor movement's relationships with its African affiliates, as well as of the role of labor unions in the American scene. In part, such a view arises from the position of labor unions in African society. For African trade unions, which have significance out of all proportion to their actual numbers in relation to the total working population, have almost always functioned as an integral part of the nationalist political movements in the various countries.

## US Concern Predates Cold War

The American concern with world labor problems predates the cold war by many decades. The interest of American labor in international labor organizations over the past 50 years is significant because American workers enjoy advantages which might easily have led to complacency and indifference to the problems of workers in other countries. Separated from the ravages of war and postwar revolutions, American workers enjoy the benefits of a vastly wealthy subcontinent, contiguous internal borders, a single language, a relatively stable work force, a high rate of literacy and technical skill, and an expanding

economy with a vast potential for a steadily increasing standard of living. Despite this apparent self-sufficiency, American labor came to the conclusion as early as 1910 that its own destiny was irrevocably linked with the economic advancement, social responsibility, dignity, and freedom of labor around the world.

## Historical Parallels Noted

This present dispute within the ranks of African labor is not unique in the history of trade unionism, for many countries have gone through similar controversy and confusion over the issue of international affiliation. The last major changes in the organization of international labor came at the end of World War II, when the devastation wrought on the continent of Europe and crumbling wartime alliances brought about basic shifts. During the war, the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) had brought together such widely divergent groups as the Soviet trade unions, the British Trade Union Congress (BTUC), the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO), indeed most of the major national unions in the world. One notable exception was the American Federation of Labor (AFL), which took the position that there was no free independent labor movement in the Soviet Union and that the declared objectives of the WFTU therefore could not be realized. In 1949, the non-Communist trade unions withdrew from the WFTU to form a separate organization, the ICFTU.

The ICFTU, now the broadest organization of workers in the world, has a membership of approximately 57,000,000 through 137 affiliates in 117 countries. Its declared aims are: (1) to establish a strong and effective international organization of free and democratic trade unions, independent of any external domination and pledged to the task of promoting the interest of working people through-

\*As a former official of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), and the present international representative for Africa of the AFL-CIO, Maida Springer is a leading US authority on the problems of African labor. In this article, she gives her assessment of African labor's gains from its affiliation with the ICFTU.

out the world and enhancing the dignity of labor; (2) to establish universal recognition and application of the right to trade union organization; (3) to provide assistance to the establishment and development of trade union organization, particularly in developing countries; (4) to coordinate the defense of free trade unions against any campaign aiming at their destruction or at the restriction of their rights or at the infiltration and subjugation of labor organizations by totalitarian or other anti-labor forces; and (5) to aid in the establishment of full employment, the improvement of working conditions, and the raising of living standards of peoples of all countries of the world.

During the early postwar period, the young trade unions of still-colonial Africa developed largely through their affiliation to the trade union movements of their respective metropolitan countries. They began to attend international labor assemblies, to develop their own informal relationship with labor leaders in other countries, and to explore a range of techniques which might help them to cope with their own rapidly changing conditions.

#### Impact of African Unions

In the resulting ventures in international cooperation, labor movements from the older industrialized countries with their higher living standards have been equal partners with the emergent countries in a mutual cooperative and learning process. African trade unions have achieved virtually complete autonomy within the international labor movement and are increasingly affecting the character and the policies of its agencies. Africa has contributed some of the most able representatives serving on international boards, who have militantly ensured that the economic, social, and political views of African countries are thoroughly articulated at all times. Anyone who has sat through these sessions knows that it is decidedly inaccurate to draw a picture of African subservience in ICFTU councils.

Trade unions affiliated with the ICFTU have autonomous organizations in Asia, Latin America, Europe, and Africa. The regional machinery in Africa is centered in Lagos, Nigeria, with a sub-regional office in Nairobi, Kenya. Thus, African trade unionists are able to plan their activities on the basis of their own conception of their needs.

Moreover, the position of the ICFTU on issues of vital political importance to African labor has been straightforward: it has opposed forced labor in Angola; supported an independent Algeria; upheld the Tunisian and Moroccan workers (as well as the independence struggle against France); condemned South Africa's apartheid, and supported a boycott of South African goods.

African labor's most important gain from its association with world labor, however, has been in the practical realm of technical assistance and aid in education. Two current examples of such assistance are the AFL-CIO Garment Workers Training Program, in which six local unions of the ILGWU and the ILGWU Training Institute participate, and the Utility Workers' Union of America Local 1-2 Technical Training Program. The garment workers' project has provided six-month scholarships in the United States for six garment workers (including four women) from Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Kenya, Tanganyika, and Nigeria.

#### Training Curriculum Varied

The program includes an intensive five-week course on garment worker history, social legislation, collective bargaining and negotiation of contracts, practical economics, international labor relations, the Negro in American life, union welfare plans, cooperative farms, and the status of women. This is followed by four months of actual factory experience, including guest membership in an American trade union, active participation in trade union activities, and close-range study of the day-to-day functioning of union representatives. In the final weeks prior to their return home, they will be taught audio-visual techniques, motion picture projection, tape recording, mimeography, and a rapid course in typing. During the period at the Institute, they will evaluate their experiences, consulting with the union sponsors as to the relevance of this training program to immediate problems in Africa and making recommendations to enhance the value of future programs.

The program of the Utility Workers Union Local 1-2, soon to start, is a joint labor-management effort initiated by the Union to train workers from Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Nigeria, and Kenya in greater technical efficiency in the production and distribution of electricity.

The ICFTU Labor College at Kampala, Uganda, has trained, since its inception in 1959, approximately 160 trade unionists from nearly every English-speaking country in Africa. The school holds two four-month resident seminars a year, short-term refresher courses, and week-end institutes. On their return home, the graduates of the seminar organize local training programs.

The curriculum emphasizes (1) the training of active and prospective trade union organizers, officials, and instructors; and (2) specific, locally adapted techniques which can help raise standards of living even where there is a lack of large-scale capital investment. Instruction in school industrial relations, techniques of communication, organization and administration, labor laws and legislation,

the rudiments of research and statistics, international relations, Africa's economic and social problems, library techniques, and the techniques of writing letters, reports and short articles is also featured.

The teaching staff at Kampala is an international one dedicated to helping Africans with the problems of their rapidly changing societies. Sven Fockstedt, the Principal, is from Sweden. Joseph Odero-Jowi of Kenya, the Vice-Principal, is a trained economist. George McCray, one of the Senior Lecturers, is a longtime trade unionist from the United States who has been a student of and active participant in African affairs since his youth. Other staff members come from the UK and Canada. This educational effort in Kampala has been made possible largely as a result of substantial financial contributions from American labor.

Another effort of major importance to Africa is the Afro-Asian Institute in Tel-Aviv, organized by Histadrut, the General Federation of Labor in Israel. It is one of the outstanding institutions for teaching the practical aspects of cooperatives, imperative in the development of Africa where capital is short and human resources must be trained to maximum efficiency in self-help at the greatest possible speed. This training, of course, includes the fundamental concepts of trade unionism. Seventy-four students from 24 countries recently graduated from the first class of the Institute, the majority from Africa. The AFL-CIO has provided 60 scholarships to the Institute for students from Africa and Asia.

\* \* \*

African trade union leaders are now in the process of deciding whether an isolated African trade union movement can realize the legitimate aims of the African workers as effectively as one which has at its disposal the experience and support of international labor. If the letter of the Casablanca resolution is followed, this decision must be reached by February 1962.

#### AFRICAN GOVERNMENT & POLITICS

by Dr. George Shepherd

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# AFRICA AND THE EEC: Prospects for 1962

Representatives of the six Common Market countries (Italy, France, West Germany, and the Benelux states) and their former African colonies (Somalia, Congo-Leopoldville, and all French-speaking countries except Guinea) held a Eurafrikan Parliamentary Conference in Strasbourg, France, from June 19-24. Their task was to discuss modifications in the relationship between the European Economic Community and its 16 associated African states in the light of the latter's accession to independence.

The present agreement, based on the Rome Treaty of 1957, is due to expire December 31, 1962. Despite differences of opinion on several technical points, the discussions took place with a remarkable degree of unanimity.

## Who Can Participate?

In a preparatory meeting at Ouagadougou, Upper Volta, the African states took the view that the association should be "open to all," but that no country should be allowed to "ride astride two groups." This was changed at Strasbourg to read that additional countries could join if they were not members of any other economic group "having objectives incompatible with ours"—a modification which would permit some form of association with the Commonwealth.

The Strasbourg conference proposed the establishment of a Council of Association composed of the representatives of each African associate and of the Council of the EEC Commission. It also recommended that a parliamentary conference be established to meet at least once a year alternatively in Europe and Africa; that African ambassadors be accredited to the EEC headquarters and EEC representatives to each

African government; and that a court of arbitration be established to settle litigation relative to the interpretation and application of the convention of association.

## Economic Proposals

The African delegates, led by Ivory Coast's Philippe Yace, stressed the need to maintain and even increase the external tariffs of the European Common Market. In response to the African argument that certain exemptions (especially on the importation of timber) and special arrangements (particularly with Latin America) had nullified the beneficial effects of the common outside tariffs, the conference finally agreed that these tariffs should be modified only on a compensatory basis under certain special conditions.

The Africans also criticized existing import quotas, purchase taxes, and import tariffs which have had an adverse effect on certain African producers. Cases in point are German levies on coffee, the fact that Italy imports bananas only from Somalia, and the special arrangements between France and its former territories. Mr. Yace stated that purchase taxes on African products within the EEC raised more money than was spent by its overseas aid fund. Agreement was finally reached that internal purchase taxes on tropical goods should be reduced.

It was the consensus of the conference that commodity price stabilization schemes should be regulated by the EEC, rather than by the present regularization and stabilization funds, and that a central stabilization fund should be formed with an initial contribution from all members and associate members. It was further recommended that a minimum outlet for tropical products be guaranteed and

that member states favor the stocking and financing of suitable goods.

The relationship of Euratom to African development was also discussed. A representative of the organization stated that nuclear reactors should not be included in the early development plans of African states.

## Technical Assistance

The present EEC Development Fund was criticized for its rigidity and slowness. By the end of March 1961 (its fifth year of operation), the Fund had allocated only \$380,000,000 of the \$580,000,000 at its disposal. The delegates decided that the remainder of the funds will be spent by the end of 1962. On January 1, 1963 a new Common Development Fund is to be inaugurated on a partnership basis which will be more flexible in its operations and have a larger capitalization.

The conference emphasized the need for an educational assistance plan, and urged special attention to the building of African secondary schools and scholarships for technical training in Europe. It was suggested that an Afro-Malagasy Study and Development Institute should be established.

—Sally H. Wilcox

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## Portuguese Guinea to Erupt?

(Continued from page 2)

and methods which differ little from those the Portuguese encountered when they first arrived in the 1440's. Guinea has virtually no industry, no railways, and only 40 miles of paved roads. There are several ports, however, including the capital and leading city, Bissau, which has a population of about 18,000.

Guinea, like Portugal's other colonies, has the legal status of an "overseas department of Metropolitan Portugal" and its peoples are not officially Africans, but "Portuguese of African descent." However, only a few of the African population enjoy the full privileges of Portuguese citizenship, for, as in Angola and Mozambique, the status of *assimilada* is available only to a trickle of Guineans who can satisfy the authorities that they are fluent in Portu-

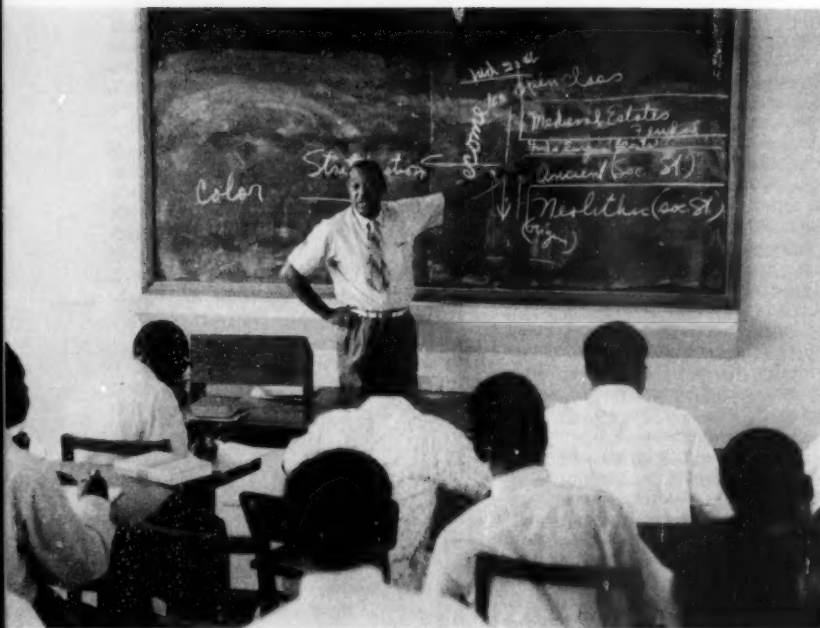
guese and have completely absorbed Portuguese culture, including affiliation with the Catholic Church.

Given the rudimentary education facilities that are available in Portuguese Africa, the number of *assimilados* is bound to remain a very small proportion of the total native population. In Guinea, according to the latest census, there are only 1,478 Africans in this category. The vast majority of the population are subject to a special legal code and to obligatory labor on public projects and plantations.

With northern Angola in flames, Guinea preparing for armed insurrection and reports of growing political restiveness in Mozambique, Portugal's colonial empire, so long isolated from the tide of African nationalism, appears to be headed for increasing difficulty.

Right: Dr. George M. Johnson, acting principal of the University. Below: Dr. Mozell C. Hill, a sociologist from Columbia University, teaches a class. Bottom: Students discuss politics in a dormitory lounge.

—Photos by Paul Conklin, Pix, Inc.



# Eastern Nigeria A "Land Grant"

By PAUL CONKLIN

Nsukka, Nigeria

As he remembers it now, Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe solved the problem of how to finance the new University of Nigeria one morning in 1955 in New York City as he stood on Park Avenue in front of Lever House.

Finding enough money for the project seemed at that time an almost insurmountable obstacle. Dr. Azikiwe, then Premier of Nigeria's Eastern Region, had just finished a dispiriting round of talks at several American foundations, none of which had offered any encouragement.

As he looked up at the handsome 24-story Manhattan skyscraper, Dr. Azikiwe mused that it had been built largely on profits from Nigerian palm oil. Why not, he asked himself, build the university at Nsukka out of palm oil, too?

"I went home and told my cabinet that we could get the money without begging," he recalls.

## Fund Created

A short time later, in December 1955, the Eastern Region Marketing Board created a University of Nigeria Fund and committed itself to channel \$1,400,000 into it every year, or about a quarter of its palm oil revenues. Over a 10-year period, the Marketing Board will contribute \$14,000,000 to the fund.

A thousand acres of bush located 40 miles north of Enugu, the regional capital, have now been transformed into a mushrooming university campus. The ground for the first building was broken April 16, 1960. Five and a half months later, during Nigeria's independence celebration, quarters and classroom space were finished, or nearly so, for the first class of 264 students and a teaching staff of 34 and their families. By the time the second academic year begins this fall, the student body will—if present plans materialize—have grown to 1,000 and the faculty to 90 or more.

Construction continues at a feverish pace. Now going up are several faculty apartment blocks, two student dormitories, each to house 350, a large classroom building, a science block, and a library large enough for half a million volumes. On one corner of the campus, the concrete shell of Africa's largest stadium—capacity 40,000—is taking shape.

With American, English, Irish, Indian, and African men and women already on the faculty, Nsukka has a cosmopolitan atmosphere. Teaching



# Nia Builds Gr University

and planning expertise for the university has come from the Inter-University Council of Great Britain and Michigan State University under the sponsorship of ICA. Nsukka is MSU's first African project, although it has worked in the field of education under ICA contracts in South America and Asia.

Dr. Azikiwe, educated in the US himself, was attracted to Michigan State University because he is convinced that the land-grant university concept, with its stress on vocational training, has much to recommend itself to a developing nation like Nigeria. Although the stated intention of Nsukka's founders is to draw the best from British as well as American experience and create something uniquely suited to Nigeria's needs, the approach is considerably more American than British. This break with tradition has opened the university to a great deal of criticism, for British attitudes toward American education are still strong in Nigeria. Holders of American degrees have long had to face prejudice in finding jobs in both government and business.

Instead of reading in a single subject throughout their stay at the university, as is customary in the British-style African university, Nsukka students are required to spend their first two years in a school of general studies. There, American fashion, they are introduced to the concept of related disciplines as they take basic courses in English, a modern language, general science, and the social sciences. Only after a thorough exposure to this broad base do the students choose their area of specialization.

Behind this shift from early academic specialization lies the hope that broadening of horizons will encourage more young Nigerians to go into

professions other than government service, law, and medicine.

For the first time at a West African university, vocational training will be developed on a professional level in many fields. As classrooms and teaching staff become available at Nsukka, course work will be offered in accountancy, agriculture, architecture, banking, commerce, education, engineering, forestry, home economics, insurance, journalism, librarianship, medical laboratory technology, pharmacy, physical education, secretaryship, social work, surveying, and veterinary science. The curriculum will also include intensive one and two year courses that will not lead to a degree but will equip less-qualified students with specific skills.

In addition, Nsukka will develop an Economic Development Institute with a staff of full-time consultant economists doing research on the broad problem of how Nigeria's resources can best be mobilized to raise its standard of living.

The typical student at the University of Nigeria in 1960-61 was 28, married, and was formerly a secondary school teacher. Like all of the 2,000 applicants for Nsukka's first class, he had satisfied the entrance requirements of the University of London.

## Admissions Explained

Starting this fall, the average student age will be lowered considerably because a third of the entering class will come directly out of high school. This is an innovation, because British-oriented universities such as Ibadan's University College demand that their students do two years of additional study, called the sixth form, after high school. By dropping this sixth form requirement, the administration at Nsukka has left itself open to criticism that its admission standards are lower than those at other schools. Dr. George M. Johnson, former Dean of Law at Howard University in Washington, D. C., and now acting Principal at Nsukka, believes otherwise:

"Our standards are definitely not lower. Just say that they are dif-

ferent. We do not attach as much importance to sixth form work, because we think that in Nigeria today it channels promising students away from critical areas such as agriculture, science, and engineering, into the arts. Of course, only time will tell who is right. To say, however, that this is a problem of standards is to misunderstand the real issue."

When the students arrived in Nsukka last fall, nothing but the shell of a university awaited them. No class schedule had been drawn yet. There were no texts. Classroom equipment had to be improvised. Living conditions were primitive. Deadly little vipers crawled along the corridors of the dormitory. Electricity went off for days at a time, as did the water supply. In order to wash, students often had to walk into the village of Nsukka a mile away.

## Morale Remains High

Despite it all, student morale remained high. Appropriately, they named their yearbook *The Pioneers*. Clubs and societies proliferated, limited only by the administration's admonition that none should follow strictly tribal lines.

Early misgivings on the part of students that they would be poorly prepared for the day when they have to compete with graduates of the older University College at Ibadan on the Nigerian job mart seem to have evaporated and been replaced by a growing conviction that a well-rounded education is a good thing to have.

Students have adjusted to the informal manner in which their American teachers conduct classes and have taken readily to the strange custom of interrupting lectures with questions. They have also learned, but with more difficulty, to take frequent examinations in stride.

The behavior of the American staff outside the classroom has also seemed a bit baffling at times. Commented one professor: "I deliberately do my own odd jobs because I think it is good for the students to see that a man with a doctor's degree can still enjoy working with his hands."

A view of the campus at Nsukka



## Congo Parliamentarians Gather At Lovanium

By the last week in July—three weeks after the date President Joseph Kasavubu had originally planned to convene the Congo Parliament—both houses were still marking time. Unconfirmed reports indicated that 126 deputies (out of a possible 137) and 81 senators (out of a possible 96) had assembled in Leopoldville, though the validity of some of their credentials remained to be checked. More than 1600 UN troops had dug in around Lovanium University (where the carefully-protected meeting is scheduled to be held) and ringed the area with electrified barbed wire. It was still far from certain, however, whether the shifting patterns of Congo alliances would permit a meaningful parliamentary session to be held.

President Joseph Kasavubu has stated his intention of asking a leading Congolese figure to form an interim government, and Defense and Interior Minister Cyrille Adoula continued during July to be the most widely acceptable choice. (see "Cyrille Adoula: A New Name in the Congo," *Africa Report*, July 1961, page 2).

However, the appointment of Adoula ran into unexpected opposition from incumbent Prime Minister Joseph Ileo, who contended that a constitution must be drafted before a new parliamentary government could be set up. Ileo was supported in this argument by Albert Kalonji, president of South Kasai.

Antoine Gizenga, heir to Lumumba's Stanleyville regime, sent a full delegation of about 60 parliamentarians to Leopoldville in mid-July, but remained at home with an illness alternately described as bronchitis and diplomatic in nature. While some observers were convinced that Gizenga was now acting under pressure from new Czech and Soviet diplomatic missions established in Stanleyville in July, it seemed more likely that he was waiting to see which way the parliamentary wind would blow. Apparently encouraged by preliminary assessments of the parliamentary line-up, he sent a letter to UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld on July 24 demanding UN guarantees that the decisions of the Congo Parliament would be carried out. On the same day, Cleophas Kamitatu, president of Leopoldville Province and one of the major intermediaries between the central government and Stanleyville, announced that Gizenga definitely intended to fly to Leopoldville "in the very near future."

The position of Major General Joseph Mobutu, Commander-in-Chief of the Congolese National Army, remained unclear. In mid-July, after Mobutu's 10-day visit to Elizabeth-

ville, it was announced that Katanga's President Moise Tshombe had signed control of his 11,600 man army over to Mobutu. This, together with Tshombe's warm words of praise for the army chief after Mobutu secured the Katanga president's release from central government custody in June, encouraged rumors of a Tshombe-Mobutu alliance and even a possible military coup if Gizenga were to obtain a parliamentary majority.

On July 24, events took a new turn when Katanga Interior Minister Godfroid Munongo made the startling pronouncement that the Katanga Government—which has heretofore proclaimed itself "Africa's shield against Communism"—would accept Soviet offers of assistance and had officially opened negotiations to strengthen its ties with the Communist bloc and with the Stanleyville regime. Explaining this action, Munongo said: "We are tired of seeking in vain for understanding and help from those we had considered to be our friends." Munongo's loyalty to Tshombe was questioned by some observers, however, for there were new signs that leading personalities in Katanga's governing Conakat Party did not see eye to eye on all questions.

Katanga's threatened rapprochement with the Soviets appeared to have developed partly out of pique with the Belgian Government's changing policies in the Congo since Paul Henri Spaak became Foreign Minister of a new Socialist government in Brussels in April. Tshombe remained intransigent on the matter of participating in the central Parliament gathering at Leopoldville. His eight Conakat Party deputies and six senators stood fast in Elizabethville.

## Coloureds More Active in South Africa

Over 150 representatives of South Africa's coloured (i.e., mixed) population assembled on an Afrikaner farm in Cape province on July 9 in the first meeting of this racial group in the country's history. The convention, originally scheduled for the previous day in Cape Town, had been banned by the Minister of Justice under the Suppression of Communism Act.

The delegates, including religious leaders, professional men, businessmen, educators, and political leaders, were unanimous in their rejection of apartheid. They demanded a Bill of Rights in a rigid South African constitution, the right to vote, and the calling of a national multi-racial convention.

The republic's 1,500,000 coloureds have traditionally been politically apathetic due to ethnic and economic

divisions and the fact that they have been accorded slightly more favorable treatment than the country's Africans. However, they have become increasingly alienated by recent apartheid legislation, which has affected the coloureds more than any other segment of South Africa's population.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the abortive African general strike in May (see *Africa Report*, June 1961, page 11) was the widespread support of the coloureds, especially in the Capetown area. Even the conservative Cape Malays struck in large numbers. This seems to point toward closer cooperation in the future between South Africa's non-white races in their campaign against apartheid.

## Opposition Leaders Arrested in Sudan

General Ibrahim Abboud, President of the Sudan, left on July 17 for a 10-day tour of the Soviet Union, including the Islamic Republics of Asia Minor. He will visit Yugoslavia in August, probably remaining in Belgrade for the conference of uncommitted nations scheduled for September 1. A 10-day state visit to the United States is scheduled to begin October 4.

Before departing for the USSR, Abboud ordered the arrest of 15 major civilian political leaders, including the Sudan's two ex-premiers—Abdullah Khalil, leader of the Umma Party, and Ismail al-Azhari, head of the National Unionist Party (NUP). Two former Foreign Ministers were also in the group. Radio Omdurman, which announced the middle-of-the-night arrests early July 11, quoted General Abboud as saying that the detainees had conspired against the military government over a long period of time and that their "game" could no longer be tolerated.

Opposition to the Abboud regime has become increasingly vociferous in recent months, and in June nearly all of the country's former political leaders—whose parties were officially dissolved in 1958—joined in an appeal for return to parliamentary rule. A railway workers' strike in June was primarily a political protest against the government's rejection of this appeal.

In the current arrests, the regime has removed from the scene most of the nationally-known civilian political figures. Still free, however, is Sayyid Sidiq Abdal al-Rahman al-Mahdi, politico-religious leader of the Ansar sect, the ex-officio head of Sudan's civilian opposition. The crucial political question still unanswered is whether the many Ansars in the army would remain loyal if the regime were to come into open conflict with the Mahdi.

## Gambia and Senegal Discuss Future Ties

A Gambia-Senegal inter-ministerial committee, which met in Dakar from June 21-23, agreed to form a permanent joint secretariat but not to consider territorial union at this time. There has been speculation for some months that Gambia—a 300-by-25-mile enclave in Senegalese territory along the Gambia River—would federate with Senegal upon attaining independence from Britain. (See *Africa Report*, June 1961, page 11.)

The committee discussed the coordination of surface, air and river transport, telecommunications, meteorological services, economic planning, the use of the Gambia River for agricultural purposes, and other forms of cooperation. A second inter-ministerial meeting will take place in Bathurst in the last two weeks of September.

Constitutional talks on Gambia's future relationships with the UK, held in London from July 24-27, resulted in agreement on full internal self-government following general elections in May 1962.

## Nigeria's Wachuku Made Foreign Minister

Prime Minister Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria, who arrived in the United States for an official visit July 24, announced a significant cabinet shift shortly before his departure from Lagos. The joint portfolio of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations—previously held by the Prime Minister—has been assigned to Jaja Wachuku, a Dublin-educated lawyer who headed Nigeria's first delegation to the United Nations and was chairman of the UN Conciliation Commission in the Congo. Mr. Wachuku has also held the post of Minister of Economic Development, now reassigned to former Minister of Health Malam Waziri Ibrahim. The Health portfolio will be taken over by Dr. M. A. Majekodunmi, who has been Minister of State in charge of the Army in the Defense Ministry.

## Two Referendums Held In Southern Rhodesia

Southern Rhodesia held two constitutional referendums during the last week in July—an unofficial country-wide protest vote called by the National Democratic Party on July 23 to demonstrate African opposition to new constitutional proposals, and the July 26 official referendum on the draft constitution.

According to NDP officials, 372,546

voters over 21 cast ballots against the projected constitutional reforms in the unofficial balloting, and 471 in favor. An overwhelming majority of the 80,000 persons who voted in the government's official referendum favored the new constitution. Most of these were whites, since less than 5,000 Africans (out of some 8,000 to 10,000 who meet Southern Rhodesia's property and educational requirements for voting) were actually registered, and many of these boycotted the election.

The new constitutional proposals would give Africans their first representation in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, but African leaders regard 15 seats out of a 65-seat House as inadequate.

## Ghana, Guinea, Mali Formalize Their Union

The Charter of the Union of African States was published simultaneously in the capitals of Ghana, Guinea, and Mali on July 1. This formalizes the Guinea-Ghana Union of November 1958, which was joined by Mali in December 1960.

The Charter states that the UAS should be regarded as the nucleus of a United States of Africa, and offers membership to all African states that accept the objectives of the resolutions of the first Accra conference of 1958 and the Casablanca conference held last January.

The three states agree to organize a system of joint defense; to regard aggression against one as aggression against all; and to draw up a set of economic planning directives aimed "at the complete de-colonization of the set-ups inherited from the colonial system." Cooperation will be maintained in diplomatic, economic, cultural, and research activities.

No provision is made for permanent institutions at this time. The highest executive organ will be quarterly meetings of the three heads of state, which will rotate among their respective capitals.

## Monrovia Group Finds Agreement at Dakar

Economists from 19 of the 20 Monrovia Conference states (Ethiopia excepted) plus Libya met at Dakar from July 17 to 23. They found common agreement on 16 resolutions covering economic, financial, social welfare, and other forms of cooperation.

The resolutions call for the promotion of trade among African countries through a regional customs union and a common external tariff; harmonized development policies; construction of a connecting network of

national roads and other cooperative communications; and steps to break down language barriers and harmonize educational systems.

The recommendations will be presented to the second summit conference of the Monrovia states, scheduled for Lagos, Nigeria, in September.

## Neutralist Conference Called For September

Twenty-one states which met in Cairo in early June to prepare for a neutral summit conference have announced that the talks will open in Belgrade, Yugoslavia on September 1. The nine African states represented at the preparatory meeting were Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, Somalia, the Sudan, the United Arab Republic, and the Algerian provisional government.

Admission to the conference is to be based on a five point definition of non-alignment. Qualifying neutral nations are those which (1) follow policies of peaceful coexistence; (2) maintain a position of nonalignment; (3) support popular liberation movements; (4) abjure military pacts and other bilateral treaties which would involve them in East-West disputes; and (5) refuse permission for the installation of foreign military bases. On the basis of these conditions, Togo, Nigeria, and Upper Volta subsequently have been issued invitations.

## Casablanca Economists Discuss Customs Union

A conference of the African Economic Committee of the Casablanca powers opened at Conakry, Guinea, on July 17, attended by Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, the United Arab Republic, and the Algerian provisional government.

A communique issued at the end of the five-day meeting stated that customs duties and trade quotas among the member states will be removed progressively over a five-year period beginning January 1962. The delegates also agreed to recommend the establishment of a payments union and a bank for African development. Possibilities for closer commercial relations, the coordination of economic planning, the exploitation of natural resources, the improvement of telecommunications, and a unified policy towards the Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa South of the Sahara were also discussed.

In mid-July, representatives of the same six powers began a 15-day meeting at the UAR military academy in Cairo to draw up plans for establishing the "African Supreme Joint



Command" proposed at the Casablanca conference in January. Welcoming the delegates, General Mohammed Fawzi said their task was to ensure "the common defense of Africa in the case of aggression against any part of it, and to safeguard the independence of African states."

The heads of state of the UAR, Mali, Ghana, Guinea and Morocco have scheduled a meeting in Cairo in August prior to the September conference of neutral nations in Yugoslavia.

## Africans in Franc Zone Discuss Monetary Union

Ministers of Finance from eight former French African territories—Ivory Coast, Dahomey, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Upper Volta, Togo, and Senegal—met in Paris on July 8 with French Finance Minister Wilfried Baumgartner to discuss the formation of a new monetary union within the Franc zone.

Under arrangements discussed in Paris, France would stabilize the currency of the eight states by guaranteeing free convertibility. Decentralization of the credit structure would give the African countries more control over their respective monetary policies. These arrangements are designed to help to counteract the adverse balance of payments which may be predicted in the African states for the foreseeable future and to act as a supplementary guarantee for private investors.

Only broad lines of agreement on the proposed monetary union were reached in Paris. *Afrique Nouvelle* (Dakar) reported that it was not possible to reconcile three diverse points of view expressed by Togo, Senegal and Mali, and the Ivory Coast. Further discussions will take place at Abidjan on August 8.

## First Chief Minister Named in Uganda

Benedicto Kiwanuka, whose Democratic Party formed a government after a narrow technical victory in the Uganda general elections of March 1961, was officially designated first Chief Minister of the Protectorate on July 2. In an interview with *Agence France-Presse*, Kiwanuka predicted independence for his country by 1962 but was more reserved on the subject of an East African federation. He observed: "As an individual I do not see any harm in it. As a member of a political party, I think it is a matter for the executive to decide. In our view, we must solve the Uganda problem first."

Meanwhile, mixed reactions to the

far-reaching recommendations of the Uganda Relationships Commission (see *Africa Report*, July 1961, page 9) were reported. Chief Minister Kiwanuka's Democratic Party, although publicly noncommittal, is said to believe that it offered too many concessions to the traditional authorities of Buganda Province. The country's three other tribal kingdoms—Toro, Ankale, and Bunyoro—are also critical of the Report, chiefly because they seek the same federal status recommended for Buganda. The opposition Uganda People's Congress, led by A. M. Obote, has supported the Commission's recommendations, a tactical position in keeping with the UPC's longer-term strategy of seeking a united front with the Baganda for the elections anticipated sometime after the constitutional conference scheduled for London in September.

## African Trade Unions Discuss Alternatives

Ahmed Tlili, Secretary-General of the *Union Generale des Travailleurs Tunisiens*, called a second all-African trade union conference in Dakar for July 30.

The announced purpose of the meeting was to form a pan-African labor federation whose membership would be open to all African trade unions including those who wish to maintain their international affiliations. The All-African Trade Union Federation inaugurated at Casablanca in May 1961 had stipulated that member unions must sever their connections with other international labor organizations within 10 months. (See *Africa Report*, May 1961, page 10.)

Meanwhile, an AATUF planning committee, comprising representatives from Morocco, Ghana, Mali, Guinea, UAR, and Algeria, met in Casablanca from July 14 to 17 to form a permanent Secretariat. In a final communiqué, the committee noted with regret the initiative taken by "a certain African organization" in proposing the Dakar conference, "which created doubt, confusion, and divisions in the ranks of workers and could only help imperialism and its lackeys." Members were requested not to participate.

## Ivory Coast Unions Hold Unity Congress

A trade union unity congress was held in the Ivory Coast town of Treichville from June 22 to July 2. It was attended by high government officials and representatives of management as well as delegates from the four trade union groupings—the *Union Nationale des Travailleurs de la Cote d'Ivoire*, the *Confederation des*

*Travailleurs Croyants de la Cote d'Ivoire* (affiliated with the Catholic international labor movement), the *Confederation Africaine des Syndicats Libres* (affiliated with the ICFTU), and the autonomous unions. Revealing some careful behind-the-scenes preparation, spokesmen from the four groups unanimously endorsed the principle of a unified national labor movement.

The conference decided that Ivory Coast trade unions will break all international affiliations within three months and dissolve their present structures. The unions will be reconstituted under a single national authority along geographic and functional lines to be determined at a second conference in October. These changes are to be directed by a national committee of unification representative of the various trade union factions.

In those African states where a single party is dominant, there has been a growing tendency in recent years for the political leadership to attempt to bring the labor movement under central direction and control. This was especially evident in the French-speaking territories, where many members of the Conakry-based *Union Generale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire* had campaigned for a "no" vote against the wishes of the political leadership in the 1958 referendum. Although the majority of the Ivory Coast workers went along with President Houphouet-Boigny's affirmative position in 1958, several of the civil servants' unions resisted this move and maintained their allegiance to UGTAN or the Catholic labor federation. When the leader of the pro-UGTAN faction was expelled to Guinea in the fall of 1959, a general strike was called in Abidjan. The Ivory Coast Government declared this strike illegal and took punitive action against several of its leaders.

## Mauritanian Parties Form United Front

Leaders of Mauritania's two political groups—the governing *Parti du Regroupement Mauritanienne* and the former *Nahda Party*—met on June 30 at the capital of Nouakchott to merge into a single organization. The *Union Nationale Mauritanienne*, as the new united front is called, unanimously endorsed Premier Moktar Ould Daddah as their single candidate for the presidential elections to be held August 20. The elections are necessitated by the adoption of a new constitution on May 20 which institutes a presidential regime for the first time. The UNM plans to send three missions throughout the territory to popularize the idea of political unity and to campaign for Daddah's election.

# Can We Generalize About Africa?

By HARVEY GLICKMAN

Book Editor

**The Political Economy of Contemporary Africa**, by Immanuel Wallerstein, David E. Apter, Carl G. Rosberg, Edward Marcus (*Washington, DC: National Institute of Social and Behavioral Science, Symposia Series #1, George Washington University, 1960*), 24 pages, \$1.25.

**St. Antony's Papers No. 10, African Affairs No. 1**, edited by Kenneth Kirkwood (*Carbondale Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1961*), 164 pages, \$3.75.

**Three Faces of Africa**, by the Colonial Correspondent of *The Times* (*London: The Times Publishing Company, 1961*), 35 pages, 1s.

**Africa Speaks**, edited by James Duffy and Robert Manners (*Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1961*), 223 pages, \$4.95.

**Problems of African Development**, by T. R. Batten (*New York: Oxford University Press, 3rd ed. 1961*), 292 pages, \$2.40.

On first contact these books and pamphlets would seem to have nothing in common—just another month's grab-bag of Africanana. On closer inspection, however, they can be fitted together to represent various attempts at different levels to bring some general order to the understanding of Africa's main problem areas: social evolution, political change, economic development and international relations. To be sure, the reader is on his own to make the relevant connections. Except for Mr. Batten's, each work is composed of a number of shorter articles and even Batten's volume turns out to be two separate studies bound together. In addition, the edited collections bear only faint signs of integration. But purposive exploration can yield valuable results.

The most self-conscious attempt to generalize is made by the participants in the George Washington University symposium and the inquiring reader should start here. In his contribution, "Evolving Patterns of African Society," Dr. Wallerstein constructs a frame of reference for viewing and studying the social basis for the emergence of nationalism and new political systems. He distinguishes broadly between two social "situations," each creating a different explanatory problem. The "colonial situation" is investigated via the sources of social conflict—new bases of authority, challenges to traditional social structure, emergence of new elites. (A sketch of typical national development reveals the significance of types of colonial policy for the emergent shape of protest—an important notion which can be overlooked in the rush to comprehend Africa's "new politics" on the Africans' own terms.) On the

other hand, the "situation of the new nation" is best approached via the resources and demands of social order. The quest for national integration gives rise to suitable institutions and ideology—e.g., the single mass party and the national hero.

"Nationalism and Models of Political Change in Africa," by Dr. Apter and Dr. Rosberg, follows naturally. The authors propose three multifaceted conceptions for the growth of new political systems, based on the sources and structure of authority, which in turn stem from environmental possibilities and overall political aims of the dominant social group or political party. Such factors as the structure and extent of power and loyalty, the degree of operational flexibility and the uses of ideology are developed in arriving at "mobilization systems," concretely exemplified by and PDG/Guinea and the CPF/Ghana; "consociational systems," e.g., Nigeria, TANU/Tanganyika and emergent territorial federations; and "modernizing autocracy," e.g., Buganda, Ethiopia and Liberia.



Eschewing extensive comment here, one merely notes the limited explanatory power of these models thus far in much of former French Africa and the difficulty the authors have in handling the "white oligarchic but nonetheless consociational political system" of South Africa. Yet the models are extremely suggestive, especially with regard to the dynamics of "mobilization" politics. Coupled with further research, they can permit a higher order of comprehension, extensive systemization, and even prediction. Most significant is the authors' opinion that optimum modernization may depend on combining mobilization parties with consociational arrangements on the territorial level, although they won't get unanimous agreement among African politicians that "the future of African freedom and the prospect for democracy are linked to the growth of consociationalism in Africa."

In the final article Dr. Marcus surveys the various obstacles to economic growth in Africa. All are probably familiar, but rarely are they outlined so succinctly. He also provides a thoughtful set of alternative policies, some of which have been adopted by African governments. But why exclude from serious consideration nationalized enterprises, producer

collectives and co-operatives, and massive financial help from the Soviet Union?

The fusion (some would say confusion) of economic and political ideology is illuminated in several articles in the St. Antony's collection. With his usual brilliance, Thomas Hodgkin offers a prolegomena to the analysis of African nationalist ideas, linking firmly to the initially above mentioned works. In summarizing and illustrating the themes of African nationalism Mr. Hodgkin extracts the Marxist essences and then notes certain points of opposition in notions of pan-Africanism and in the denial of class struggle. African nationalism emerges tied more closely to Rousseau than to Marx—a new offspring in the family of "revolutionary democratic ideas."

In this connection Mary Holdsworth's report on African studies in the USSR, which follows Hodgkin's paper, is intriguing, for it indicates that contemporary "Marxists", in trying to apply party-line standards to African developments, may appreciate the Marxism in African nationalism rather less than other people—not least the African ideologues. Miss Holdsworth still hopes for mutually satisfactory contacts between academicians of West and East. In spite of Communist terminology and an instrumentalist attitude toward research, "extensive and thorough research has been done in African studies, research that it would be wrong and foolish to dismiss always as mere political propaganda."

## South Africa Cited

The remainder of the St. Antony's Papers are less relevant to our present concern, but readers should consult Dr. Ellen Hellman's careful examination of the workings of apartheid in urban areas in South Africa, which concludes that "the antithesis of what the government is aiming at is actually taking place."

South African racial policy remains crucial to international relations as they develop in Africa. In the first of six articles, which cover politics in different regions of Africa (and which were published from March 6 to 11 in *The Times*) the Colonial Correspondent makes the ubiquitous observation, "over South Africa there broods, to a large extent, a spirit of *Gottterdammerung*." But more important, he emphasizes that apartheid has become a focus of discontent among all black African governments—a unifying issue and a club with which to beat the West. (In *Africa Speaks* Ronald Segal, who took his magazine *Africa South* to exile with him, bitterly attacks the whites of South Africa and summons America and the West to a moral and political reckoning.)

The emerging issues of Africa's in-

ternational politics form the major theme of *The Times* articles. In addition to South Africa, three others "occupy the stage: Algeria, the Bomb, . . . the Congo." At the moment the Congo tragedy is most influential and the author enumerates its costs: increased African distrust of Europeans, diminished prestige of the UN, great sums spent unproductively by the West, division of the newly-independent African states into rival blocs and the "first real impetus" to the Cold War in Africa. On all these issues the Western leaders are urged to divest themselves of dangerous illusions—"that the Cold War can be

excluded from Africa . . . that African countries have no policy-making will of their own . . . that African interests can be horse-traded in matters which are primarily the interests of others." Except for a discerning eye for the differences between the French and British approaches to decolonization, the articles reveal nothing unexpected. But the pith, clarity, and sense of the author's conclusions bear advertisement.

*Africa Speaks* affords a quick and handy introduction in their own words to the chief worries of African leaders, black and white—though it may be stretching things to include Hen-

rique Galvao and Maurice Van Hemelrijk. Captain Galvao, however, is worth reading, not merely for the scarcity of oppositionist views from Portugal, but because he reflects an enlightened, "liberal" viewpoint. Yet he cannot quarrel with the paternalist mystique. Much of the rest of the collection—Mboya, Nyerere, Toure, Nkrumah, Olympio and Lumumba—comprise apt materials for the Hodgkin treatment of nationalism, already mentioned. Van Hemelrijk's short contribution is poignant and somewhat puzzling. He ignores the political pressures at home that compelled his dismissal as Minister of Colonies and blames white racists in the Congo for the fiasco of the Belgian withdrawal.

Finally, T. R. Batten, formerly of the Education Department in Nigeria and of Makerere College in Uganda and now Senior Lecturer at London University Institute of Education, has revised (but only slightly) his informative little books, which originally appeared in 1947 and 1948. Few other introductions—on any subject, much less on problems of development—achieve such concreteness, lucidity, and precision. Mr. Batten is equally at home in methods of animal husbandry or the uses of foreign capital or the operations of local government.

Part I, "Land and Labor," investigates "the chances of Africans producing and owning more wealth," thus permitting technical description and illustration of specific aspects of the problems raised by Dr. Marcus in his aforementioned article. The second part, "Government and People," seems most successful when it deals with welfare measures embraced by the concept of development. The sections on government are administrative and almost non-political, sufficing as background to previous discussion in both books, but conventional in conception. While no one argues against freeing people from poverty, disease, and ignorance, it is hardly likely that they can ever be adjudged free from prejudice and self-seeking, as Mr. Batten seems to require. Perhaps it is even hypocritical, if not quixotic, to demand that African independence "bring real freedom and not merely the rule of a small educated minority in its own interest" when this is a never-ending search in all the advanced democracies and is so rare everywhere in the world.

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**Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of Mau Mau, Colonial Office (London: H.M.S.O., Cmd. 1080, 1960), 321 pages, 15 s.**

The anti-democratic potential of administering an empire for the domestic politics of the Mother Country is never made so plain as in the debates in colonial legislatures and in the reports of colonial governments. The dilemma of "being autocratic abroad and democratic at home" (as

**Demographic Information on Tropical Africa, by Frank Lorimer (Boston: Boston University Press, 1961) 207 pages, \$2.50.**

Professor Lorimer has previously pointed out that the materials available for a scientific study of Africa's demography in world perspective and the actual situation of the continent's population in relation to its resources could be described, at best, as "spotty." In the text of this volume, he provides an overview of the demographic characteristics of the area he defines as Tropical Africa (a definition not strictly according to conventionally accepted norms) that ranges through the studies of the League of Nations after World War I, the works of R. R. Kuczynski, up to research completed or in progress in January 1960. The data presented cover reports on evaluation of classical and sampling censuses, administrative surveys and bibliographical and methodological studies of varying adequacy and representativeness.

Beyond doubt the volume is an essential reference guide to the

study of the composition and dynamics of African populations. Lorimer observes that "in contrast to the useful information on the size and distribution of population and on some characteristics in many African countries, information on the dynamics of population is grossly defective and likely to be misleading. In particular, it is hardly an exaggeration to say that there is no knowledge about levels of mortality anywhere in Africa—except in some non-African communities." This is a useful admonition to the social, behavioral and policy scientists who have bandied about conjectural statistics with such authority these past few years. It is also an index to the fact that the domain of demographic data on Africa is vast and the workers therein are few. These few, however, are heartened by noticeable improvements in the collection, classification, and interpretation of these data in the last decade. —Ira De A. Reid

**Livingstone's Private Journals, 1851-1853, edited by Isaac Schapera (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960), 341 pages, \$5.**

Originally written in two notebooks, one formerly believed lost, these carefully-edited notes and records cover the period of Dr. David Livingstone's two visits to the Mokololo territory, his expeditions to Lake Ngami and the preparations for the trek to Angola. Appended are fragments of the "Kolobeng Journal" (1848-9), most of which was destroyed by Boer raiders, and a glossary of African plant and animal names.

The manuscripts, now in the National Archives of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, were owned by the missionary's descendants until 1954. Extracts had previously been published by W. G. Blaikie (1880), G. Seaver (1957), and M. Gelfand (1957), but most of the journals—which Livingstone never intended for publication—make their first

appearance here. Their contents expand upon the letters already available (Chamberlin, 1940, and Schapera, 1959), and augment with detail the recollections in *Missionary Travels* (1857), chapters IV-XII. In the *Journals*, there is less literary embellishment and more evidence of the author's primary interest in mission endeavors. Livingstone's scientific aptitude makes the *Journals* stronger in natural history than in human conditions, and more informative on linguistics than on customs. Exhaustive annotations provide eminently satisfactory guides to orthography, geography, secondary accounts and other relevant contemporary materials. The judicious editing is enhanced by an index that locates indirect as well as direct references in the unabridged text. —Donald L. Wiedner



Margery Perham gracefully put it) has never been resolved, but there is no doubt that imperialism generates tremendous pressure for the curtailment of the rights that Western Europeans are supposed to hold dear.

In 1957, F. D. Corfield, formerly of the Sudan Political Service, was appointed a Government Commissioner in Kenya to write an official answer to the question, "Why did Mau Mau happen?" Three years of exhaustive research have probably produced the definitive story of the rise and operations of Mau Mau until the Emergency was declared in 1952, but the premises, on which are based the explanation for the Kenya Government's failure to act effectively, are confined wholly to the Tory view of government—authority, not liberty, is the key to ruling well.

Major Corfield's immediate explanation is innocuous enough. Ample intelligence was available to the government; what was wanted were proper devices for evaluation and coordination. But what explains the lack of such devices? The reason, claims Major Corfield, is that the process of decolonization had gone too far; the government was too welfare-minded; it was overly responsive to soft-headed liberals and left-wingers in Westminster who think that British justice applies anywhere there is British rule. Anti-colonial opinion, which guided colonial policy after World War II, prevented the Kenya Government from acting against a subversive movement before it engulfed the territory in revolutionary violence.

In other words, "a whiff o' grape," applied preventively, would have stopped the nonsense. As Major Corfield concludes, "The main lesson . . . is the paramount duty and obligation of any Government to maintain law and order." Elsewhere he observes, "Not the least" of the factors contributing to the slowness of government action "were the disabilities under which all colonial governments had at that time—and still have—to operate, the principal being the inherent difficulty of maintaining law and order in an age beset and bemused by the four freedoms."

It comes as no surprise that Mr. Corfield is convinced that Jomo Kenyatta and his associates were responsible for Mau Mau. In the absence of documents—Kenyatta is quoted in

**Echoes of Africa in Folk Songs of the Americas**, by Beatrice Landbeck (New York: David McKay, 1961), 184 pages, \$5.95.

A noted music educator, Beatrice Landbeck, has drawn upon Afro-American studies for her present effort. In this striking, beautifully-bound book, she successfully popularizes the research compiled on the subject of Africanisms in the New World folk music. Mrs. Landbeck has prefaced the four sections—Africa to the New World, the Caribbean, Central and South America, and the United States—with short but relevant historical and theoretical introductions. In these sections one soon realizes the importance given to rhythm and improvisation in African music in comparison to emphasis on melody in European music. Her opening African songs are from French Equatorial Africa, Angola, Southern Rhodesia, and Tanganyika. This use of East African cultures as a baseline for assessing the African origins of the New World Negroes may, however, make some scholars squirm.

All the songs are translated into English, which may offend purists, but it has merit for the younger audience, for which this book is intended. The music is simply noted so that even the amateur can toy with the rhythms. A short discography is included for those who wish to deepen their appreciation of this little-understood area.

—William A. Payne

the report as saying, "Never trust anything to writing"—the author must depend on the conclusions of policemen, esoteric meanings to phrases in Kenyatta's speeches, and secret but pregnant oratorical gestures.

The whites have had their scholarly innings and the blacks have had their polemical catharsis. This is still a wide open field for some future African graduate student.

#### NOTES:

1. Good-bye Dolly Gray, the Story of the Boer War, by Rayne Kruger (Philadelphia and New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1960), 507 pages, \$8.50. Boer War buffs need concede nothing

any longer to their American Civil War comrades, for they have attracted a powerful supporter in Mr. Kruger, a novelist who proves that the tragic violence which presaged the demise of Imperialism and Pax Britannica is also a rattling good yarn. Although this is largely military history—and how Mr. Kruger knows his battles!—it is diverted by deft character sketches of the chief political and military antagonists and informed by incisive judgments on the great differences between Briton and Boer. Mr. Kruger is related to "Oom Paul," the crusty founder of Afrikaner nationalism, but he is not partial to the Afrikaners. Nevertheless he cannot help but recruit sympathy and admiration for the plucky Boer commandos, whose fantastic exploits almost defeated a vastly superior, but clumsy army of British regulars. The Boers were self-righteous, tough, and scrappy in 1900 and that situation has not changed a bit.

2. **Belgian Congo (Brussels: Inforcongo, 1959 and 1960)**, 2 vols., maps, 734 pages, free.

**Congo, Prelude to Independence** (London: African Research & Publications, 1961), 120 pages, 2s.6d.

Add to the inevitably expanding literature on the Congo two studies as far apart as an ideological spectrum will permit. The Inforcongo handbooks are suave, crammed with statistics, and charmingly partisan. The other pamphlet is the first effort of the newly-formed A.R.P. group of African scholars and publicists. It is ambiguous, passionate, and sometimes illogical; but it is an interesting beginning to an enterprise self-styled, "a theory of Africa," which will serve "all genuine African nationalist organizations and parties."

#### BOOKS RECEIVED:

1. **Zambezia and Matabeleland in the Seventies, the Narrative of Frederick Hugh Barber, 1875 and 1877-78 and the Journal of Richard Frewen, 1877-78**, edited by Edward C. Tabler (London: Chatto & Windus, 1960), 212 pages, 45 s. Source materials, first in "The Robins Series" on African history.

2. **Race, Prejudice and Education**, by Cyril Bibby (NY: Praeger, 1961), 90 pages, \$1.25 paper, \$2.50 cloth. UNESCO study for teachers.

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## African Visitors to the U. S.

Included in a group of travel grantees to the United States, announced recently by the Carnegie Corporation, 589 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, are:

**THE REVEREND CANON E. O. ALAYANDE**, Principal of Ibadan Grammar School, Nigeria, due here from March-June 1962 to study American and Canadian educational systems.

**DORIS M. DAVIES**, Nursing Sister at the Neuro-Physiatric Center, Aro Hospital, Abeokuta, Nigeria, due here from September 1961-January 1962 to study mental health clinics and their nursing personnel training programs.

**J. E. IMOUKHUEDE**, Permanent Secretary, Western Nigerian Ministry of Education, due here during 1962 to study the administration of public education in the United States and Canada.

**S. A. LADEINDE**, Deputy House Governor at University College Hospital, Ibadan, Nigeria, due here from February-August 1962 to study American and Canadian hospital administration.

**DAVID MILES**, Organizer of Schools-Broadcasting in the Northern Nigerian Ministry of Education, due here from April-June 1962 to study educational radio and television.

**FODE CISSE**, Minister of Labor of Guinea, in the US until August 7 on a State Department leader grant. His itinerary includes Washington, DC, Puerto Rico, Grand Canyon, Hoover Dam, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and New York. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute, 1726 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC.

A Parliamentary Delegation from Upper Volta, due in the US in mid-August for 60-day State Department leader grants, includes **BEGNON DAMIEN HERVE KONE**, President of the National Assembly; **SAMATIE ERNEST YARO**, Deputy in the National Assembly and Rapporteur of the Assembly's Committee of Economic Affairs and of Planning; **OURAROU MICHEL DIALLO**, Deputy in the National Assembly and Chairman of the Assembly's Parliamentary Immunities Committee; and **JOSEPH ISSOUFOU CONOMBO**, Deputy and First Vice-President of the National Assembly and Mayor of the City of Ouagadougou. To be programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

**ROBERT MATANO**, Member of the Kenya Legislative Council for the Kenya African Democratic Union (KADU), in the US until August 28 on a State Department leader grant. His itinerary includes Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver, Chicago, Detroit, Buffalo, Boston, Washington, DC, and New York. Programmed by the Governmental Affairs Institute.

**SOULEYMANE DIARRA**, a student from the Republic of Mali presently working for his *Agregation* in Geography in Paris, in the US until late September on a State Department student leader grant. Programmed by the African-American Institute, 505 Dupont Circle Building, Washington 6, DC.

**PIERRE NGIJOL-NGIJOL**, of Cameroun, a graduate student of political science in Paris, in the US until early September on a State Department student leader grant. His itinerary includes Washington, DC, Boston, Keene (New Hampshire), New Paltz (New York), Cleveland, Cedar Rapids, Seattle, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Denver, Sterling (Colorado), New Orleans, and New York City. Programmed by the African-American Institute.

**BASSORI TIMITE**, of Ivory Coast, a student of Cinematographic Studies in Paris and President of the Dramatic Arts Club "*Les Griots*" (the group's most recent presentation is "*Les Negres*," by Jean Genet), in the US until late September on a State Department student leader grant. Programmed by the African-American Institute.

**ALBERT KEKEH**, of Atakpame, Togo, a student preparing to take his *Agregation* in Physics in Paris, in the US until mid-October on a State Department student leader grant. Programmed by the African-American Institute.

**ALFRED CYRIL TANDAU**, Financial Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union, Dar-es-Salaam, Tanganyika, in the US until early November on a State Department specialist grant. Programmed by the Bureau of International Labor Affairs, Department of Labor, Washington 25, DC.

**MARY KAHAMA**, wife of George Kahama, Tanganyika's Minister of Home Affairs, in the US until late July on a State Department specialist grant, to observe women's organizations. Programmed by the National Social Welfare Assembly, 345 East 46th Street, New York City.

**MRS. PAUL BOMANI**, wife of the Tanganyika Minister of Agriculture, in the US until October 6 on a State Department specialist grant, to observe women's organizations. Programmed by the National Social Welfare Assembly.

## Africa House Library Named Van Noy Room

The governing council of Africa House in Washington has announced



that the library in its 1600 T Street residence will be named the "Henrietta Van Noy Room" in memory of one of its most dedicated friends, who died on June 20 at her home in Washington. Mrs.

Van Noy, who was a founding member of the Afro-American Institute in 1953 and of Africa House in 1955 and served on the Africa House governing council from its inception until her death, attended Nigeria's independence ceremonies in 1960 as the personal guest of grateful African students and of the American-educated Governor General and Mrs. Nnamdi Azikiwe.

Mrs. Van Noy became interested in the problems of African students in Washington while employed at the American University, and devoted most of her latter years to the solution of their financial and personal crises on an individual basis. She visited students when they were ill, quietly arranged loans or grants for those in need of assistance, listened to their troubles, and would type a thesis to help a student get his degree on time.

## Women's Africa Group Evaluates Programs

Sponsored by the Women's Africa Committee, a conference of 50 American women, representing more than 30 organizations, met in New York on June 15 to discuss the topic, "Do our programs meet the needs of African women today?"

After a keynote address by Dr. Hugh Smythe of Brooklyn College and the US Mission to the UN, the delegates discussed how organizations decide in what countries to work; with whom to work; possible responses to political pressures; whether and when to accept existing procedures or to try to introduce new ones; and how to select personnel for service in Africa.

A preliminary report given to the conference showed that 19 American organizations had initiated or were participating in women's programs in more than 20 of the 45 African countries. A full report of the conference is to be issued by the Women's Africa Committee, 345 East 46th Street, New York City.

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